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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

نحمده ونصلي على رسوله الكريم

DICTATORSHIP OR DEMOCRACY? *

In dealing with this subject the first question with which we are faced is, how does Islam define the Sovereign, or the State? In Islamic terminology the Sovereign or *Khalifa* is that representative individual whom the people of a country elect for the protection and supervision of their individual and communal rights. Islam does not acknowledge any form of Government other than a representative Government. The Holy Quran has used the word امانت (trust) in describing the Islamic conception of Government, that is to say, the *Khalifa* exercises the power that is entrusted to him by the people, and not the power which is assumed by him of his own will or which is inherited by him as a birth-right. This word alone is sufficient to illustrate the nature and power of an Islamic government. The Holy Quran does not speak of the right

* In view of the rising tide of dictatorship and the progressive decline of democracy in the West, the students of political science will read the above article with much interest. The article with the exception of the title which is our own has been taken from *Ahmadiyyat or the True Islam*, which may be fitly called a compendium of the teachings of Islam and is by that greatest living authority on Islam, Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, Head of the Ahmadiyya community, Qadian.—*Ed.*

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of government as something proceeding from the Sovereign to the subject, but as something proceeding from the subject to the Sovereign. For a full appreciation, however, of the Islamic conception of the State, it is necessay to quote the verse, which in brief but comprehensive terms describes the nature and duties of the rulers and the ruled. The Holy Quran says:—

ان اللہ یامرکم ان تودوا الامانات الی اھلھا و اذا حکمتم بین الناس ان تحکموا بالعدل - ان اللہ نعما یعظکم بہ - ان اللہ کان سمیعاً بصیراً ○ (النساء ع ۸۵)

"God commands you to entrust the responsibility of government to those worthy of it, and those of you who become rulers, should rule justly; God admonishes you with that which is excellent, verily He is Hearing, Seeing." (IV : 58). In the first part of this verse the people are told that it lies with them to choose their rulers, and that nobody else can appoint a ruler over them, that is to say Sovereignty is not hereditary and nobody is entitled to become a Sovereign merely because he happens to be the son of a previous Sovereign. Rulership is then defined as a valuable trust and the people are admonished not to entrust it to a person who is not worthy of the trust, but to place the responsibility on the shoulders of him who would discharge it honestly and faithfully. Then, we are told that Government is not an independent thing in itself, but is a mere delegation of powers for the purpose of enforcing and protecting certain rights which the people cannot individually enforce and protect, owing to the large number of persons concerned. It is, therefore, a trust, and not in the nature of property. The ownership of the rights concerned is vested in the community and not in the Sovereign. Again, the latter is told that the power vested in him is by way of trust and that he must not abuse or misuse it, and must hand it over to the beneficiaries at the time of his death without deterioration or diminution, that is to say, he must be vigilant in the protection of national and individual interests and rights, and that he would have no power to surrender or damage any

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portion of them. Rulers and officials are next told to discharge the respective duties of their offices justly and faithfully. The verse then goes on to indicate that the Muslims would forsake this mode of Government and would, in imitation of other people, revert to the monarchical and hereditary form of Government, but that the admonition of God, *viz.*, that the Muslims should stick to the representative form of Government choosing their best brains to rule over them and to avoid the hereditary system of Government, is the best advice. The concluding words of the verse indicate that God has prescribed this mode of Government seeing the evils of other forms of Government adopted by men and hearing the prayers of those who suffered under them, and that the Muslims should, therefore, adhere to it and thus show their gratitude for the favour that God had done them.

From this it is clear that the Islamic form of Government must be based on an elective and representative basis, and that the Sovereign is regarded as the representative of the people in their collective and not their individual capacity. I shall now draw a brief sketch of the Islamic form of Government, so as to illustrate its different functions and aspects.

Islam requires the Muslims to elect as their ruler a man whom they regard as best fitted to discharge the responsibilities of that office. Such a man, when elected, holds office, not for a period of years like the Presidents of the Western Republics but for life, and God alone can remove him from office, *i.e.*, by means of death. In this man is invested all the power and authority of Government, but it is his duty to devote the whole of his life to the promotion of the welfare of his country and not to the seeking of his own aggrandisement. His control over the treasury is limited to the spending of money for national needs and requirements, and he cannot, therefore, fix his own allowance. This must be done by his Advisory Council. It is the duty of the Sovereign to ascertain the views of the people through this Council. On

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special occasions and with reference to special matters the opinion of the people may be ascertained by means of a general referendum, so that any differences between the opinion of the people and their representatives may come to his knowledge. He is expected to respect the opinion of a majority of the representatives, but as he is above all kinds of political partisanship and has no personal interests to serve, his own opinion is believed to be entirely impartial and influenced only by considerations relating to the welfare of his country and his people. Besides being the true representative of his people, Islam promises special Divine Grace and Help to the *Khalifa*. He is, therefore, authorised under special circumstances and in matters of special importance, to overrule the opinion of the majority of his advisers.

He is aboslute in the sense, that he can, in certain cases, override the opinion of the representatives; on the other hand, his power is limited in the sense that he has no control over the Islamic constitution by which he is bound, and he cannot repeal or overrule any portion of it. He is bound to take the advice of the people and is bound to preserve the elective character of his own office. He is an elected ruler in the sense that, under the will and guidance of God, he is appointed to his office through the agency of the people, and he is a representative of the people in the sense that he is expected to follow the advice of their representatives except when compelled to differ from it by urgent or extraordinary necessity. He cannot, by his own authority, spend a penny out of the public funds on his own person or for his personal needs. He rules by virtue of a Divine Right in the sense that he cannot be removed from his office, and is promised Divine aid in the discharge of his duties and in the carrying out of his undertaking.

The details as to the method of the election or appointment of the members of the Advisory Council and the appointment of the Governors and other officials, etc., have been purposely omitted by Islam

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so that they may be decided according to the exigencies of the time and so that human reason may have scope for work and expansion, a principle which is essential for the intellectual development of man. The Holy Quran prohibited the Muslims from questioning the Holy Prophet (on whom be peace and blessings of God) concerning every little detail for many matters are purposely left to the reason and judgment of man. If the smallest detail had been laid down by the Holy Quran or the Holy Prophet (on whom be peace and blessings of God) there would have been no scope left for the intellectual development and progress of man and thus serious injury would have been done to mankind.

There are several forms of Government at present in existence, but everybody who studies the constitution laid down by Islam will be compelled to acknowledge that it is not possible to devise a better form of Government. On the one hand it comprises the best form of representative Government, and on the other it is entirely free from party spirit, for the Sovereign is not dependent upon the aid or the co-operation of any particular party. He confines and devotes himself to the study of the welfare of his country and people, and as his office is held on a life tenure, the country is not deprived of the services of its best brain after a specified number of years.

We believe that this is the only perfect form of Government, and we are confident that as the circle of the Ahmadiyya Movement widens and its membership increases, people will of their own free-will acknowledge the excellence of this form of Government, and even Sovereigns will renounce their hereditary rights in the interests of the welfare of their countries and will confine their privileges to those which they enjoy, and to which they are entitled as individuals.

As the Promised Messiah (on whom be peace and the blessings of God) was only a spiritual Khalifa his

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successors will also, so far as possible, remain above politics, even at a time when Sovereigns and States have joined the Movement. They will perform the functions of a real League of Nations, and will endeavour, with the help and advice of the representatives of different countries, to regulate international relations. Their principal function will, however, be to look after the religious, moral, social and intellectual welfare of the people, so as to avoid their attention being monopolised by political matters, and important religious and moral affairs being neglected as was the case in the past. I have said, that they will *so far as possible*, remain aloof from and above politics. I have made this reservation to meet exceptional cases where the people of a particular country in a time of difficulty or crisis may request the aid of the spiritual *Khilafat*, and it may become necessary to make temporary arrangements for the Government of that country. But such arrangements would be confined to the shortest possible period of time in each case.

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THE COLOUR PROBLEM

Reading an article on the tribes of Nigeria in a travel magazine the other day, we came across two pictures side by side, one of a *Pagan*, and the other of a *Haussa*, neighbouring tribes and ethnically akin, but the former still an idolator, the latter Muslim. The non-Muslims were naked barbarians, while the Muslims were well-clad, well-kept, prosperous-looking people. The magazine, an American one, was guiltless of pro-Muslim propaganda, and the juxtaposition of the two pictures was purely fortuitous; but the moral was nonetheless there.

Nowhere more than in Africa is the civilizing influence of Islam so evident. While the Christian Missionaries have, in spite of Governmental aid and encouragement, been able to make little impression on the barbarism of the aboriginal Negroes, Islam has claimed large sections of the African tribes, and what is more, has in a very short time proved so strong a civilizing influence that there can be little comparison between the Pagan tribes and tribes like Haussa who have adopted Islam. All over Africa, the tribes who have embraced Islam have, in a very short period of time, made such great strides in civilization as to be hardly identifiable from their non-Muslim kinsmen.

Of course this tendency is not confined to Africa; all over the world where a Muslim population lives side by side with non-Muslims, the superior civilization of the former is evident. But, what is important is that this superior civilization has never led Muslims to assume an attitude of superiority, or to place a racial or colour bar between themselves and the aboriginal inhabitants of the countries they have occupied. Under Islam, all men are brothers, the slave is the equal of the king; and it is perhaps this democratic equality of Islam which has strengthened the civilizing force of Islam.

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No Colour Bar

These two qualities of Islam, its essential democracy and its civilizing influence make it a factor in the social evolution of the world which cannot be ignored in dealing with that most vexed of problems, the colour bar. There is perhaps no problem more urgently important in world politics than that of the colour question, which threatens to be the rock on which some day the peace of the world will split. This colour problem is a comparatively new one. Until a couple of hundred years ago no European race thought of asserting the essential superiorities of the white over the coloured races. If anything it was the other way about, since in those days peoples like the Chinese and the Japanese were apt to look with lofty contempt on the white barbarians.

Up to two hundred or even a hundred years ago, there was no such thing as a colour problem. The big colonizing powers, it is true, had a native question, but colour did not enter largely into it. In recent years, however, and particularly among what are called the Nordic races, there has arisen a theory that dominion in this world is for whites, subjection for the coloured races. It is on this idea of the inferiority of the coloured races that the immigration laws of the United States of America and the Dominions and Colonies of Great Britain are based; and the tendency of these laws is to close all avenues of colonization to the coloured races, if indeed these avenues are not already so closed.

An Impossible Position

In this way practically all the British Colonies and Dominions have been closed to Indian emigration. America and Australia are closed to Japan, and so on. Now this is obviously an impossible position and one that could not continue indefinitely. The Japanese demand room for expansion has now taken a practical shape and it has begun to expand itself at the expense of a sister coloured race. The exclusion of Indians from

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the Dominions and the inability of some socially very highly-placed Indians to get accomodation in good hotels in England is incompatible with the idea of partnership in the British Commonwealth of Nations. The colour bar has in it, in fact, the seeds of much trouble in the future. What then is the solution of this problem? In this article we shall show that in Islam is to be found the solution of this as of every mundane as well as religious difficulty.

The "colour bar" in its present form is in reality a product of the last fifty years and is confined to what the American sociologists call the "Nordic" races, the races which are of Anglo-Saxon origin. Amongst the Latins, prejudice against coloured people as such is practically non-existent, and though, as we have seen, they have a colonial problem, it is political, not racial. Thus though the administration of the French colonies and dependencies in Africa and Asia is really less liberal than that of the British possessions, the relations between rulers and ruled are less tinged with bitterness.

In Paris, brown Arabs and black Senegalese are received as hospitably as white citizens of France, and there is no sort of discrimination against them, such as in recent years has developed in Britain in regard to Indian residents. In regard to the British, to do justice to them, it must be remembered that this discrimination against Indians in England did not exist until very recent times. A quarter of a century ago, Indian students were as freely welcomed at English educational institutions and in English society as young Englishmen of the same class, and even now this prejudice is almost entirely confined to the middle and upper classes, not having permeated to the lower orders. The English lower classes are so entirely free of prejudice against coloured people that they freely contract marital and even extra-marital sexual relations with them, and this phenomenon is still observed amongst lower class Englishmen who settle in tropical countries.

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Not Biological but Political

From this condition, the inference would seem to lie that race prejudice is a political rather than a biological phenomenon; but most Anglo-Saxon writers on the subject take a contrary view, holding in fact that colour prejudice is a defensive characteristic, automatically adopted by the white races which come in contact with coloured peoples, to prevent the former from eventually being swamped by the latter.

In a very interesting book entitled *A National Forecast*, D. Charles Pearson, a Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, who for some time held the sociological chair in one of the Australian universities, expressed the opinion that eventually the white races must come to be confined to the relatively small temperate zone, while the occupation and government of the tropical countries would revert to the Asiatic and African races, who thus controlling the world production of food-stuffs would come eventually to dominate the world.

This view is combated by D. Inge, the Dean of St. Paul's in a series of articles written recently in which he denounced the selfish policy of exclusion of Asiatics, pursued by the United States of America and most of the British Dominions in the interests of white labour, and with the primary object of maintaining a high standard of wages. The writers of the "Nordic" school of sociology, like Mr. Lothrop Stoddard in his *Rising Tide of Colour*, hold the contrary view that unless the white races pursue a policy of Asiatic exclusion, they must eventually be driven out of Africa and Asia, and perhaps eventually forced back into Europe.

A Political and Economic Idea

To us it seems that there is little ground for believing that race prejudice is a biological phenomenon. It is a political idea inspired by political and economic motives having for its object the domination of the

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coloured races, by the whites. It is this idea that inspires the "native policy" of the Afrikander Party in South Africa; it is this idea that inspires Asiatic exclusion; and it is this idea that must eventually precipitate that clash of colour of which writers like Mr. Lothrop Stoddard are much afraid.

But, since the white races are enormously outnumbered by the coloured races, which in spite of all obstacles are progressing rapidly in the arts which have placed the white races in a dominant position, it follows assuredly that a policy of exclusion can no more turn the rising tide of colour than could the traditional chair of the Danish King Knut prevent the waves from surrounding it.

The policy of exclusion inspired by the "Nordic" theories of sociology, is steadily arousing amongst the coloured races a hatred of the whites that must eventually engulf the latter unless it is assuaged. And the way to assuage it is not assuredly to apply the irritant of race prejudice, but the solvent of Islamic brotherhood. Where Islam prevails race prejudice is conspicuous by its absence, as may be seen from the example of the dominion of Turks, a white race, over the Arabs and the Egyptians, in the past.

An Unscientific Theory

To review the position, the theory on which the social and political colour bar is based is essentially a wrong and an unscientific one. It is not biological or due to any phenomenon analogous to that of protective colouration, but purely political and economic and therefore artificial. There is in fact no physical repulsion as between white and coloured individuals or races. If there had been any such physical repulsion, it should logically have affected the lower classes, who are governed more by instinct than by reason. But we have seen that this colour prejudice does not affect the lower classes—but is in fact a superstitious theory imposed on them by the governing

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classes for political reasons, and accepted by democracy for economic considerations.

An artificial bar of this kind cannot for long be maintained, and as we have seen, so far from being an effective dam against "the rising tide of colour, it must eventually increase the strength of that tide."

We have seen the colour bar set up by the white races against the black, the yellow and the brown races has the effect, not of stemming the "rising tide of colour," but in fact of creating a feeling of hatred among the coloured peoples against the whites, a hatred that may yet have the gravest reactions. As a result of this colour bar what is happening is that a definite division of the nations of the world into two different hostile camps is taking place. Until a decade ago, Japan for instance, was not in the camp of the coloured races, nor has she definitely placed herself there; but as the result of two things, she has been isolated from her relations with the white races.

One of the factors that made for the friendship of Japan with the white races was the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. To this alliance Japan was faithful, during the Great War, and it was her effective policing of Asia that permitted the diversion of large bodies of British troops to other theatres of war, and prevented the Chinese from throwing in their lot with the Germans. Had Japan not remained faithful to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the result of the Great War might have been far otherwise and the Allied Powers therefore owed much to Japan. How she was repaid is a matter of history. Not only was she forced to cede Tsing-tao which she had taken from the Germans to the Chinese; but soon after the war, when the period of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance terminated, that agreement was not renewed and now both the nations are on the verge of going to war against each other on the Chinese question.

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The Nordic Alliance

The non-renewal of Anglo-Japanese Alliance, it is generally believed, was due to the gradual drawing of Britain towards a permanent Entente with the United States of America, to the beginning in fact of a Nordic Alliance. The gradual rapprochement of Britain and America may not be directed against the coloured peoples; but in view of the strong exclusion policy of both these powers it lends itself to that interpretation. With the United States Japan had long been on the most friendly terms, many young Japanese who had been educated in that country regarding it as their "spiritual home" and American influence being very strong in cultured Japanese society.

But Japanese friendly relations with the United States of America were destined to be gravely endangered at the same time that the Anglo-Japanese Agreement terminated. Up to a few years ago Japanese emigration to America was regulated by an amicable mutual arrangement known as the "Gentlemen's Agreement," which while restricting emigration placed the Japanese on a different footing to other Asiatics. But, the Americans, always afraid of Asiatic emigration, could not look with equanimity on an arrangement which permitted large numbers of Japanese to settle and own land in America and in 1925 the "Gentlemen's Agreement" was abrogated and the Japanese were placed on the same footing with other Asiatics. This, apart from the material injury to Japanese interests caused great offence to this high-spirited people, who regarded it as an offence to their national honour and indeed some Japanese gentlemen committed *Hárá-kiri* (ceremonial suicide) outside the American Legation, as a protest against this affront. Japan's relations with United States of America are, at present, greatly strained.

The result of these circumstances soon became evident in the attitude of Japan towards China. In the

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past, whenever there had been differences between that country and the Wertern powers, Japan arrayed herself on the side of the latter, and when during the Boxer Expedition the Allied troops of the European Powers occupied—and sacked—Pekin, Japan was the foremost amongst them. But experience soon taught her that she could derive no benefit from this unnatural alliance with the European Powers against her neighbours and kinsfolk, the Chinese, and when in 1926-27 China was again threatened with a European punitive expedition this was only prevented by Japan's implicit but nonetheless emphatic attitude of "hands off China." The Japanese have for some time adopted in regard to China a policy analogous to the "Monroe Doctrine" of the United States in regard to Latin America, that is, she will not tolerate European intervention in the sub-continent which she is now bent upon devouring herself.

Hindus have always dreamt fondly of a Pan-Asian alliance of the brown and yellow peoples against the whites, and though there is little immediate danger of this, it is not impossible that even such a movement may eventually be provoked by the continued anti-Asiatic policy of the Nordic Powers. Another movement that has in it dangerous possibilities is that of Pan-Ethiopianism, the union of the black races of Africa and America, under the leadership of clever Americanized Negroes which has already been considerably organized. The Negroes have perhaps greater ground for bitterness against the whites than either the brown or the yellow races. Their organization under highly educated mulattoes is extraordinarily efficient, and some day a Negro revolt like that of Haiti may have the most deadly consequences. The whole tendency of the present time, as we have said, is for the coloured races to unite against the whites, and though we do not believe in either the Yellow Peril or the Black Danger particularly in view of the sanguinary struggle that is now raging between two coloured peoples—the Japanese and the Chinese—yet it is a serious menace to white civilization that the whole coloured world should gradually come

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to be arrayed against them.

Pan-Islamism

The exploiters on the Jingo Press of the Yellow Peril have also treated Pan-Islamism as a danger to white civilization; but it is not in any sense a militant force. On the other hand, in our opinion, the only solvent of the problem of race war is to be found in true Pan-Islamism, that is, in the gradual conversion of the world to the democracy of Islam, which knows neither black nor white, brown nor yellow, bond nor free, which regards all men as brothers, free and equal before God. We know how white Islamic races like the Turks have in the past dealt successfully with "the native question" without prejudice or superstition.

In tracing the effects of the colour-bar on international relations, we have shown that it has been in effect to create a tendency for the white and the coloured races to array themselves in separate camps, a tendency which if not actually directed towards a colour war, must eventually lead to it, at some period sooner or later. To this isolation of the coloured races from the whites, the policy following on the doctrine of white superiority and supremacy must inevitably tend, and events are moving dangerously fast in this direction. Unless this tendency is checked, it must inevitably lead to a colour war, infinitely more disastrous to the human races than the great conflict that plunged half the world into bloodshed more than two decades ago. Is a colour war, however, inevitable? Cannot the dangrous tendencies that seem to threaten it be checked? These are questions that must occur to the student of world politics.

The "Nordic" Solution

To the white races, particularly to those of their statesmen who adhere to what we have called the "Nordic" school of thought, the answer is, that the coming conflict can be prevented, the danger averted,

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by keeping the coloured races down, by preventing their ever rising to such a position of strength as will enable them to contest white supremacy. This is the idea behind the "Native policy" of the Afrikanders in South Africa, the exclusion policy in East Africa, in Canada, in Australia; the severity of the American treatment of the Negro population of the United States of America. 'Keep the native down and he can never rise' is the philosophy of these people.

But, as a philosophically minded character in that very unphilosophical work *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, remarks, there can be no course of action more dangerous than to sit on the safety-valve of a steam-engine, and this is in fact what the extreme native policy's exponents propose to do. It is impossible at this stage of civilization to prevent the progress of the coloured races. It is, however, hopeless to make the Jingoes of Europe, the Nordic philosophers of America realize that the coloured races bitterly resent their treatment of them and it is therefore certain that no solution of the colour problem will come from them.

The Bolsheviks of Russia offer a solution of this, as indeed of all problems, namely, the Bolshevisation of the world, *i.e.* its subjection to Communist principles of life and government. To do them justice the Russians, even long before the inauguration of the Bolshevik *regime*, have shown themselves singularly free of racial and colour prejudice; and Russia's government of her Asiatic provinces, even under the Czarist *regime* was in no way worse than that of the European areas under her sway, since all were equally misgoverned and oppressed.

New Methods

Under the Bolshevik *regime*, special attempts have been made to popularize Bolshevism in those areas of Central Asia adjoining Russia, and Soviet Government has been established in several provinces. But while

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Bolshevism theoretically implies the brotherhood of man and absolute liberty and equality for every man, in practice it has meant the dictatorship of the proletariat,—a dictatorship which will brook no opposition on what it considers fundamental principles. The result of this dictatorship has been in many cases to set up a tyranny far worse even than that of the Czars, and to touch some of the dearest liberties of the newly absorbed provinces.

The denial of revealed religion, if not actual atheism is, for example, a cardinal part of the Bolshevik creed, the socialization of property, the emancipation of women to a degree repugnant to ordinary ideas, all these are matters on which the Bolsheviks insist, and disobedience in regard to which is therefore regarded as a crime against the State; and therefore punishable with the most extreme penalties. In these circumstances, Bolshevism, in spite of many admirable features, cannot be said to present a solution of the colour problem that is at all likely to be acceptable in Asia—whose peoples have been from time immemorial devoted to religion and extremely conservative in their social ideas.

Islam the Only Solution

Amidst these warring aims and ideals, there is one alone that by its purity and rationality stands far above them all and in which alone there can be seen a solution of the world's greatest problem. Alone among the religions and social systems of the world, Islam, from the date of its foundation, has stood for liberty, equality and the brotherhood of man. Under Islam, all men are free, all men are equal, all men are brothers; and, uniquely, not only is this a pious theory, but it is so far practised that amongst Muslims alone, among the races of the world, every man regards his fellow as a brother and an equal.

We have said that this Islamic doctrine of brotherhood is more than a pious theory, it is a stark fact that

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is evident in every detail of Muslim life and history, and nowhere more so than in the political history of the Muslim Empires of the past, when Muslims have conquered races alien to them and governed them with justice, equity, and what is more than either, in complete fraternity. The Arabs conquered a considerable portion of South-Western Europe; they neither found nor created a "native problem" in Spain. The Osmanli Turks conquered Europe and still hold a portion of it; but never have they treated their subjects as, for example, the Negroes of Africa are treated by the whites. The Chagatai Turks, more commonly, if less correctly, called the Mughals, founded an Empire in India which lasted for three hundred years. Whatever difficulties they had to contend with they were embarrassed by no "native problem."

In more recent years the descendants of the Osmanli Turks have conquered and ruled successfully over Egypt and large portions of Arabia; but in either case the conquerors identified themselves with the subject population to such an extent that they were soon regarded as friends and nationals, not as strangers and conquerors. In the whole history of the Turkish occupation of Egypt, although the Turks were a white, the Egyptians a coloured race, there was never any political discrimination against the latter.

In Africa the Arabs have conquered and set up dynasties in large areas, others they have colonized, yet others they have penetrated commercially. But wherever they have gone, they have been missionaries of civilization, and the native populations have been vastly benefited by the coming of the Muslims, whether the latter came as conquerors, as settlers, or as traders. In Africa, it is possible amongst neighbouring tribes of the same ethnic origin, to perceive the enormous advance of those who have adopted Islam over those who have not; the former have become almost indistinguishable from their conquerors, the latter remain naked savages.

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Christianity *versus* Islam

It may be claimed that Christianity has also been a civilizing influence among the natives of Africa: it may have been so to a limited extent, though the evidences are that those who embrace Christianity very soon relapse into an even more degraded form of paganism; but this is certain, that the white Christians themselves do not regard their black converts as worthy of equal or even of human treatment. This essentially is the difference between Christianity and Islam: that the latter is based on the brotherhood of man, while the former is based on the superiority of the whites to all other races.

So far we have at some length examined the colour problem and considered in detail the various solutions of it that are offered. We have seen in effect that the only attempt that the White races have made to solve this problem is by the imposition of the colour bar,—a barricade of tyranny against "the rising tide of colour." Equally, we have seen that the colour bar is about as capable of withstanding that tide as the legendary chair of the Danish King Knut was to prevent the inflow of the sea. The only effect of the "native policy" imposed by statesmen of the Nordic school of thought has been to accentuate the differences between the White and the Coloured peoples, and to drive them into opposite and hostile camps. Pan-Asianism, pan-Ethiopianism, anarchism in India, all of these have been movements of self-defence, forced into existence by the insistence of the Anglo-Saxon races on the colour bar.

A Menace to World Peace

While it is perfectly right that the coloured races should unite and organize themselves in defence of their interests against White aggression, we cannot think that this division of the world into hostile camps is a healthy or desirable condition. Nor, while there must be political, racial and creedal differences between men so long as human nature remains what it is, does

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it seem right that the degree of pigmentation of men's skins should form a basis of difference and even of feud. As we have shown, the whole idea of colour prejudice is an artificial one, and comparatively new. It was unknown, even among the Anglo-Saxon races until a hundred or so years ago, and even now is not considered seriously in the Latin countries. The colour bar is a line drawn by Imperialist statesmen in order to justify the exploitation and oppression of the coloured races; beyond this it has no reason or justification, either moral or sociological.

Religion and Colour Prejudice

One would have thought that a religion like Christianity, theoretically based on the idea of the brotherhood of man would have combated and counteracted this essentially irreligious idea of differentiation between man and man on the ground of colour. But unfortunately, the influence of Christianity throughout the world has been to strengthen colour prejudice, and even to furnish theological justification for it. In the days of Negro slavery in America, Christian divines were not lacking who defended this practice and quoted from the Christian Scriptures to justify it, and to-day the strongest supporters of the "Colour bar" are to be found amongst the Christian clergy, and amongst what are called "Churchgoing people." The blame for this does not, of course, rest either with Christianity or its founder, but with the interpretation which has been placed upon Christian teachings by a long line of Imperial theocrats. From its earliest days, Christianity has been an Imperial religion, allied closely first with the Roman Empire, then with its mediæval European successors, and finally with the British Imperialism. However this may be, there is no solution of the colour problem to be hoped for in Christianity.

Islam, The Only Solution

Now it is from Islam, and from Islam alone that we can look with reasonable confidence for a solution

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of the Colour problem. In theory, Islam is based, not only on the equality, but on the brotherhood of man. And unlike other religions, this theory is, and always has been, directly translated into practice. We have seen how in the past, when Muslim conquerors have subjugated the peoples of other and less virile races, they have admitted the latter, on their acceptance of the higher civilization and purer ethics of Islam, to absolute equality and brotherhood. The Saracens and the Osmanli Turks in Europe, the Chagatai Turks of India were not only wise and beneficent rulers, they were at one with their subjects. Very soon, they forget that they were conquerors, men of a superior and more virile race, and settled down among the peoples of the lands they had conquered as brothers and equals. This in fact is the main difference between Islam and Christianity—that with the former, the brotherhood of man is a living reality, with the latter it is a mere pious platitude. Wherever the higher civilization and ethics of Islam has penetrated, the result has been to raise the aborigines to the level of the superior race; where Christianity has gone, the result has been to depress and degrade, if not to exterminate the aboriginal races. Wherever in fact the faith and civilization of Islam prevail there is no colour problem; and when, by the Grace of God, the True Faith has spread to the four corners of earth, the colour problem will have disappeared. Slowly but surely this great work is progressing, not by force of arms but by peaceful penetration, and the day is not far off when in a Muslim world, there shall be neither bond nor free, Jew nor Gentile, black nor white, but all men shall be brothers in Islam. And to this work, the whole force of the Ahmadiyya Movement and its Founder and Leader is steadily contributing.

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MUHAMMAD AND HIS TEACHINGS

[By Mr. K. D. Gupta, Head Master, Government Indian School, Uganda]

The Holy Prophet Born

Over 13½ centuries ago, to be exact, on 20th April 571 A.D. Muhammad was born in Mecca, a town in Arabia, situated about forty miles inland from the shores of the Red Sea. Muhammad was the posthumous child of Abdullah His mother's name was Aminah.

The name of his grandfather was Abdul Muttalib. There was both joy and sorrow at the birth of the child; joy, because the child would perpetuate and keep alive the line and name of his forefathers, and sorrow, for, there was not the happy proud father to welcome his advent in this world. The premature death of Abdullah was once again, at this time, most poignantly felt by his beloved wife Aminah and by his very affectionate father Abdul Muttalib. Joy, however, predominated over sorrow and the grandfather named the orphan child Muhammad.

The then prevalent custom with the people of Mecca was to rear their children by women hailing from the country and to whom was entrusted entirely the care and wet-nursing of the babies.

The Prophet Taken by Haleema

A very interesting incident is on record with regard to Muhammad's upbringing in this fashion. The child's father being dead no country woman would come forward to undertake his nursing, as there were not much prospects for a lucrative recompense. What irony of fate! Just fancy, this orphan child, who was destined to be Muhammad, the Holy

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Prophet (on whom be peace and the blessings of God), the Master of Kings and Emperors, and the supreme spiritual guide of millions of souls, was presented to a host of country nurses and was rejected by each in turn. But God the Ever-Merciful fulfilled His ways through Haleema who was a poor woman from the country and had come to Mecca along with others to take charge of a baby. Now Haleema was poor, and nobody would entrust to her the care of a baby, fearing her poverty would be in the way of proper up-bringing of the child. The disappointed Haleema at last arrived at the door of Aminah and took charge of Muhammad, the blessed one. This act of hers saved two situations, firstly it comforted the heart of the widow mother, secondly it saved Haleema herself from the jeers and taunts of her companions.

When the nursing period was over Haleema brought Muhammad back to his mother who took him to her parents at Medina. Aminah stayed but for a short time there and while on her return journey death overtook her. Somebody conveyed Muhammad, a boy of six to his grandfather at Mecca but the latter also died within two years. Muhammad a boy of only eight, now became a ward of his uncle Abu Talib.

This stage of Muhammad's life is worth studying in detail and with proper circumspection.

The Most Impressionable Period

It is a universally admitted fact that the years between 6 and the commencement of the period of adolescence of a boy is the most impressionable age of his life when he needs more than at any other time, the tender care and loving guidance, of his parents. Having lost his father, mother, and grandfather, in a word all the near and dear ones, he was deprived of all the benevolent influence and guidance that would have otherwise gone to the development of his education and manhood. We find, that the homes in which his childhood was spent, due to lack of health and culture,

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did not help him much in these directions. The social habits also of the people of Mecca then were not too congenial to a good liberal education for Muhammad. Under these circumstances and environments it is very significant to note, that the orphan, who was left to himself to carry out his destiny, and to chalk out his career, instead of turning out a thoughtless youth, became, day by day, more thoughtful and contemplative and had a natural urge towards truthfulness, purity, honesty and goodness. In my opinion this fact, more than anything else, at once goes to prove the greatness of Muhammad as a man; and upon this background, there blended and developed in him all the necessary virtues that go to make a leader of men.

The Prophet Goes to Syria

At the age of twenty Muhammad joined a society, the aims and objects of which were to give help and relief to the poor, and the oppressed, irrespective of whatever tribe they might belong to. His impeachable character and conduct earned for him, at this time of his life the titles of "The Truthful One," and "The Trusted One" and due to this fact Khadeeja, a wealthy lady-merchant of Mecca engaged him to undertake on her behalf, a commercial expedition into Syria, in return for a share in the profits of the venture. Muhammad executed the task imposed on him with such honesty and integrity that the venture yielded an unexpected profit. A slave of Khadeeja who had accompanied Muhammad to Syria, on his return to his mistress paid glowing tributes to the qualities of head and heart of Muhammad. All these considerations so influenced Khadeeja that she offered her hand in marriage to Muhammad and was accepted by him. At this time Khadeeja was 40 years of age and Muhammad 25.

The first act of the noble-minded and high-spirited lady Khadeeja, after her marriage, was that she made Muhammad the sole master of her vast wealth and all her slaves. And Muhammad immediately

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set all the slaves at liberty. This was probably the first act towards the emancipation of slaves and a blow at the root of slavery.

The Prophet Receives Revelation

Marriage, wealth, position, however, could not satiate the soul of Muhammad. As a man given to the habit of retirement he had not many recreations to enjoy in the company of men. The evil doings and ill usages prevalent in his country merely increased his sadness, the more he pondered over them. He used to retire to a cave at the top of the mountain Hira, three miles from Mecca where he used to contemplate about the condition of his country, the practice of idolatry and devoted himself to the worship of the One Eternal God. From now on Muhammad passed his days in rendering services to the poor, his large heart was full to the brim with love and affection for every one of his townsmen, while his occasional retirement to mount Hira continued for solitary meditation. At last in his 40th year he received revelation to the following effect:

" Worship God and pray to Him for spiritual and intellectual advancement and for the aquisition of such learning as has not previously been revealed to mankind."

The Prophet Faces Opposition

This revelation stirred him to the depth of his soul and troubled him not a little. He related the whole incident at first to his wife and then to Warka bin Naufal, a great Biblical scholar and both of them in their turn tried to comfort him and soothe his mind. Within a few months of this incident another revelation came to him in which he was commanded to call mankind to God, to abolish all forms of polytheism, to suppress evil and transgression, and to establish purity and righteousness in the world. This revelation conferred on him the rank of Prophet. The moment he was raised to prophethood his life in relation to

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his friends, admirers, relatives and the people of Mecca in general, received a new orientation. Friends became foes, admirers turned their faces against him, relatives shunned him and the people of Mecca who loved and respected him previously hated him now. Muhammad was suddenly called upon to adjust himself to a new standard of values. Muhammad the beloved of people, a man of unassuming nature and of retiring disposition, had suddenly to face an avalanche of public opposition. The agony and pain in his heart at this stage could better be imagined than described. Yet, in this hour of tribulation his steadfast soul soared high, and his faith kept on burning steadily with the pure lustre of the morning star. He, once again, demonstrated the eternal truth that adversity ennobles and magnifies the greatness of the great.

The doctrine of Muhammad, the worship of one God alone, appeared fantastic to the people of Mecca who were confirmed idol-worshippers. Their temples were adorned with hundreds of idols and these they worshipped with pomp and pageantry and with ostentatious ceremonial rites. Before these idols men made enormous offerings which were the means of support of many respectable families. So Muhammad's simple doctrine of faith did not appeal to them; there was also, I believe, the fear of losing their source of livelihood by the acceptance of this new simple faith.

But four persons who were always in close contact with Muhammad and had the opportunity of knowing him thoroughly still believed in him. These were Khadeeja, his wife, Ali the son of Abu Talib, his uncle, Zaid his freedman, and Abu Bakr his dearest friend. And soon thereafter a few more became followers of Muhammad's faith and doctrine.

His Cause Progresses

As already described, Mecca was then a stronghold of idolatry and polytheism. In a place like this the votaries of manifold gods and goddesses could hardly

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be expected to tolerate a new simple doctrine of faith particularly when that doctrine led to the worship of the One Eternal God. Hence the Holy Prophet was subjected to all sorts of indignities and his followers to endless persecutions. In spite of all these and in the teeth of the sternest opposition at home and abroad how this great Teacher with his gallant band of followers was able to carry the banner of Islam far and wide, bringing solace, peace and happiness to multitudes of oppressed and misguided humanity is common knowledge to all. Through diverse vicissitudes of fortune lay the path of Muhammad. But his greatness, his nobility, his sublime simple faith and the unfaltering adherence to his doctrine surmounted all obstacles and difficulties in the performance of his life's mission. His love for peace, tranquillity, forgiveness and mercy won for him universal love and respect.

I have given here a short life sketch of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (on whom be peace and the blessings of God) the better to understand his teachings. It is a truism to say that knowing the teacher adequately helps immensely to understand his teaching.

Vast and profound were the teachings of Muhammad. With regret I express my inability to mention them all here. Those that touch the heart and can be easily understood by all are outlined here.

The Prophet's Teachings

Muhammad taught people that God was one, that there was no other god but one Almighty God, neither in Heaven nor on Earth ; that He had neither son nor daughter ; He begot not, nor was He begotten : that men should put their faith in Him and worship Him and pray to Him alone : that He was free from all grossness and, therefore, could not be perceived by our physical eyes : that He was the Master of all Powers who had created the Universe and that the souls of the dead returned to Him and were given new life : men

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should love Him and strive to attain nearness to Him: that they should purify their hearts, tongues and their actions, that they should eschew falsehood, murder, disturbance, theft, robbery, false charge, fault-finding, abuse, transgression and envy, that they should not spend their time in the pursuit of luxury and the satisfaction of their desires but should devote themselves to the service and welfare of mankind, and should promote love and peace in the world.

Muhammad also taught that God is one, and all other beings, whether angels or men, are His creatures: and that it is offering an insult to God to imagine that He incarnates Himself in man or in idols. He is above all such contingencies. He alone gives life and He alone takes it away. All reformers and prophets were His servants, and none of them possessed Divine powers. God had created man for the highest spiritual, moral, intellectual and social advancement. He testified to the truth of the prophets of all nations.

Again he taught that the spirit or soul of a man is created immortal; therefore with the death of the body there is no death to it. It would continue making progress without undergoing any annihilation, so much so, that even sinners and the iniquitous after undergoing purificatory chastisement and after they are purged of all evil inclinations will share the eternal Mercy of God and they will be placed on the same road of eternal progress again.

In respect of morals, he taught that all men are born with pure and untainted natures and whatever corruption appears can be directly attributed to faulty education or wrong upbringing. That is why he always insisted on high education and high upbringing.

He also taught that in spite of differences of religion people ought to live in peace and amity with each other and should not quarrel over religious matters. For, a man has but to present it, and it will

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of itself conquer the hearts of people. He, therefore, permitted even Christians to conduct their service in his Mosque.

These teachings are indeed very beautiful, vastly illuminating and highly edifying. And he who follows them in spirit and lives up to them, to whatever religious belief he may subscribe, is a true man, a God's good man.

THE GENIUS OF MUHAMMAD

But in the case of Islam there can be no mistake. True, the Arabs in themselves were a great and virile people. But it was the genius of Muhammad, the spirit he breathed into them through the soul of Islam, that exalted them. That raised them out of the lethargy and low level of tribal stagnation up to the high water-mark of national unity and Empire. It was in the sublimity of Muhammad's deism, the simplicity, the sobriety and purity it inculcated, the fidelity of its founder to his own tenets that acted on their moral and intellectual fibre with all the magnetism of true inspiration. To them Islam was the Faith—the Faith of God.

—Islam, Her Moral and Spiritual Value (pp. 122-23).

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THE INWARDNESS OF ISLAMIC PRAYER

By Syed Zain-ul-Abideen Wali Ullah Shah

IV

Being aware of the natural human instinct not to bow to any one except God, the Holy Prophet taught all mankind to address God in the words 'Thee alone do we worship.' He appointed a form of worship for them which contains a cure for all the rebellious impulses of man.

> "Prayer keeps one away from indecency and evil and remembrance of God is certainly the greatest thing and God knows what you do" (Quran 29: 45).

What is this form of worship? It is a piece of teaching imparted by the Holy Prophet and it has two prominent features about it which are always present in an embodied form to those who are observant. One of these features is that the natural relationship of man to God is that of complete obedience. The second feature is that the relation between man and man is that of brotherliness and equality. These two features are brought out forcibly in the form of worship which the Holy Prophet established in the world. Obeisance, subordination and allegiance are one and all due to the Supreme Being Whom we address in the words "Thee alone do we worship." It is that Being before Whom we bow our own being. In our prostrations we testify to this relation in a way better than we can testify otherwise that the relation which we have with our Creator is unparalleled by any relation that we have with any other being. At the same time we come out in our ranks and while we stand shoulder to shoulder with one another before our God, the relationship of perfect equality subsists between man and man. In the praying ranks which the Holy Prophet instituted

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there is no distinction between high and low nor between rulers and ruled. They are all rich and poor alike brethren in the eyes of God.

The institution of public worship as taught by the Holy Prophet, is nothing but a school that we attend five times a day in which we rise above all individual distinctions and differences and standing close together to one another bow our heads in perfect obedience to the one true God. In our prostrations we affirm that we are servants only to Him, and if we owe allegiance to anybody and are prepared to be ruled by anybody it is only by the one true God. On the other hand our ranks at the time of prayer are a living embodiment of a relationship of perfect equality between man and man, which the Holy Prophet wanted to establish in the world.

Much as a teacher imparts a lesson to a youth, the Holy Prophet, collected us all together and caused us to make before the one God the declaration 'Thee alone do we worship.' He bound us to the Kingdom of Heaven and liberating us from all un-godly bondages, put us all on a straight highway of spiritual progress. He taught us to end our prayer by turning our heads to our right and to our left and saying each time "peace be on you." That is we were to declare at the end of our prayer that the highway which the Holy Prophet established is the one highway in which all peace is found. The spirit of rebellion and transgression prevalent among mankind and the cruelties they perpetuate upon one another are not to come to an end until the hearts of men are subordinated to the rule of God, and thus themselves purified establish a link of equality and unity which will henceforth knit all mankind together.

While establishing this form of worship the Holy Prophet declared "God is great; there is no god but He." That is to say God alone is great; there is no one worthy of worship but He. Then he declared "Come to prayer. Come to the way of salvation." That is to say the form of worship established by the Holy Prophet is the way to salvation and success.

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Five times a day this call to prayer was to be made and the teaching embodied in it proclaimed. It was to be followed by the following prayer by the faithful :—

> "God of this great message! God of the worship to be established in this world heretofore! Grant to Muhammad the means whereby his Law is destined to dominate and take him to that height of spiritual eminence of which it has been said by the Prophets that it will not come to naught and will not be destroyed until truth succeeds in the world and the countries overseas begin to look up to his Law for their salvation."

The Holy Prophet enjoined upon his followers to pray for the means to reach a certain height of spiritual eminence. What means is this? Let me impress upon you the fact that the form of worship which the Holy prophet establised in the world is a true picture of that Kingdom of Heaven to which the prophets of God have always pointed in their prophecies and in their prayers.

This is the one form of worship on the establishment of which depends the salvation of humanity. It is through this that mankind can liberate itself from the worst forms of slavery and it is through this that man's rebellious instincts can be controlled and he can have a reign of liberty, equality, fraternity, unity and purity.

The Holy Prophet (on whom be peace) endowed this picture of the Kingdom of Heaven with reality. It existed not in his imagination alone but also in the visible practice which, led by him, his followers inaugurated in the world. He proved to his own Companions and to the coming generations of his followers that the Kingdom of Heaven was within the range of possibility. It is not necessary for me to tell you in detail how the rebellious instincts of those who entered the Kingdom of God through the Holy Prophet disappeared on their affirming in the simple but strong words 'Thee alone do we worship.' Nor is it necessary for me to

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tell you to what height of spirituality the saintly followers of the Holy Prophet reached and what an unparalleled picture of liberty, equality and fraternity they all produced. All this constitutes a very lengthy story which it is not possible here to relate. But it would suffice to give an impression of the attitude of mind which the discipline of Muhammad's teaching engendered in his followers by relating one or two incidents and these I am sure will draw before you a true picture of the promptings and the impulses which influenced the hearts of the Holy Prophet's community.

Take this incident. In the thick of battle when passions and animality overpower the finer instincts of man, when the human intellect is no longer able to discern the finer differences between right and wrong, and when man's only concern is to defend himself and kill his opponent, in such a situation, Hazrat Ali, overpowering an enemy bends down to cut off his head. The enemy takes his last opportunity to insult Ali and spits on the latter's face. Ali is fired with anger all the more, but at the same time releases the scimitar from his hand and dropping it aside leaves the enemy alone. The enemy all amazed gets up and asks "Why is this so?" To which Ali answers "It would not have been just for me to have attacked you thus. When I was fighting with you, it was for God's sake. Now that you have spit on me and thus angered me, to kill you would partly be determined by my anger, and what should be exclusively for God would be adulterated by an impulse of my own animal nature. So I leave you."

There was nothing at the time to stay the hands of Ali. The man was entirely at his mercy. What saved him from meeting a certain death! Only an attachment to God and his affirmation that he would worship none but Him guided Ali's action.

It is hardly strange that Ali should have interpreted his duty at that moment in the way in which he did. For, in accordance with the pure teaching of the Holy Prophet, and in conformity with the form of worship he

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had established and the affirmation he exacted from his followers, *viz.*, "Thee alone do we worship," the whole being of man becomes a slave devoted to the fulfilment of the purpose of God. The Companions of the Holy Prophet understood this secret of existence very well. It was nothing new for Ali to have interpreted his duty thus. What is extraordinary in this incident, however, is that Ali should have remembered his duty in the thick of the battle, that he should have done so at a time when a man naturally loses the balance of his mind through sheer excitement and anger and when he is incapable of discerning the finer differences between right and wrong.

Anybody who reflects can see for himself what a great transformation had been brought about in the outlook of the Holy Prophet's Companions after they had accepted the principle of the kingdom of the one true God. What was this transformation? Briefly put it was the replacement of an animal by an angelic nature. In the records of the great deeds of the Companions of the Prophet we meet not only with one example similar to this example of Ali but with hundreds of such examples. A study of their lives shows that when God becomes enthroned in the hearts of men they undergo a marvellous transformation.

The Promised Messiah (on whom be peace) writing of the spiritual change which the mere affirmation "Thee alone do we worship" brings about in man, says:—

> (At this stage) an entire change passes over the nature of man and the former habit undergoes a complete transformation. He is completely redeemed from his former course of life. He is washed of all impurities and is perfectly cleansed. God Himself plants love and virtue in his heart and purifies it of defilement of every kind with His own hand. The host of truth camps in his heart and righteousness controls all his powers. Truth becomes victorious and falsehood lays down its arms and is reduced to subjection. The hand of God sways his heart and he walks every step under His shelter. It is to this state of the quietude of mind that the following verses of the Holy Quran point:—
>
> "God has engraved faith on the hearts of the true believers with His own hand and has strengthened them with

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the holy spirit" (58: 22).

"O believers! God has endeared the faith to you and impressed its beauties and excellences upon your hearts and has made unbelief and wickedness and disobedience hateful to you and has made your hearts averse to all evil paths. Such are the dealings of God with those who pursue a right course. This is through grace and favour from God. God is knowing and wise" (49: 7-8).

The long and short of all this is that the Holy Prophet (on whom be peace) prepared for humanity in fulfilment of the ancient prophecies a straight highway in the desert, by going along which man may have his rebellious nature properly controlled, and may have a transformation brought about in the depths of his being. This is the highway which liberates man from the kingdoms of the world and leads him into the Kingdom of Heaven, where eventually he can breathe in peace and tranquillity, and there 'they shall have no fear nor shall they grieve.' Walking on this highway man feels as though he is walking on a rock from the height of which he is able to look down upon the kingdoms of this world.

The Kingdom of Heaven which the Holy Prophet (on whom be peace) founded was unique in its grandeur and in its majesty, as compared with the kingdoms of the world. The kingdoms of this world shed blood in order to perpetuate inequality between man and man. But the Holy *Jihád* which the Prophet instituted was designed only to destroy this very inequality between man and man, and by destroying it to establish the greatness of the one true God. Have you not heard the majestic notes from the minarets of the mosques declare? 'God is great!' That is what they proclaim. And do you not see what the straight ranks of the worshippers signify? Fraternity, equality and unity. These are the ideals which they embody and which they preach. No one is king there nor beggar; one and all are bound together in bondage to God. There are no rich and no poor among them. This is the inwardness and the significance of the Islamic *Salat* (prayer) and *Azan* (call to prayer) and it is impossible to conceive of a better form of prayer which embodies and teaches a practical lesson of the essential equality and liberty of all men.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

Religion is Irresistible

During the ages irreligion has attacked religion many times and backed by the moral and material help of kings and princes and that of the leaders of social and political thought of the time has sought to extirpate it. But how could a thing which is a part and parcel of the whole being of man possibly be destroyed by any means whatsoever? Man suffers as much from the pangs of spiritual hunger as he does from those of physical hunger and as God has provided means for the satisfaction of both these hungers, it is idle to think that natural demands can ever cease to be satisfied and all efforts in the opposite direction are bound to fail. The most recent and perhaps the greatest and the best organised attempt to deprive a whole nation—and through that nation the whole world—of this most valuable of man's possessions—Religion—was begun by the Russian Bolsheviks led by Lenin in Russia. The experiment seems to have met with signal failure as the following extract from an article in the *World Dominion* will show:—

> Any investigation into the religious situation in Soviet Russia is met with baffling difficulties (this, for instance, is the case with the important question of statistics), but in this intricate and seemingly confused panorama certain facts stand out clearly.
>
> (1) There seems to be an increase of religious feeling and of religious energy among the people. It would possibly be true to say that it is the manifestation of this, rather than the feeling itself, that has increased.
>
> (2) Methods of anti-religious propaganda and of religious persecution have, to a great extent, failed, and there is disappointment among Bolsheviks as to the results of their struggle against religion.
>
> (3) The Bolsheviks had to adopt some changes in their handling of the religious question. These changes are mainly of a tactical, not of an essential character. Most of them are only means of concealing the real state of things. Although these 'veils' or 'screens' are transparently clumsy they have proved to be effective, and friends of the Soviet Government in foreign countries readily accept them, with no wish for further investigation. In other words, these changes (to a great

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extent only fictitious) represent a policy of deceit, systematic and intentional, built on a gigantic scale and used by the Bolsheviks to mislead public opinion in foreign countries.

(4) Religious persecution (I use this word not as a metaphor, but with its full meaning) continues in Soviet Russia, although there are some changes in its application.

(5) In the main, the general picture of the official attitude to religion in Soviet Russia is much the same as it has been for five or six years. The difference lies in the greater religious activity of the believers and in the collapse of many of the methods of anti-religious propaganda.

The collapse (to a certain extent) of anti-religious propaganda, due to lack of collaborators, becomes more manifest day by day. This, however, does not mean a change in the attitude of the Government. One string of its bow, that of anti-religious propaganda, is broken, or rather damaged; the other, that of violent destruction of church-buildings and objects of religious art and the putting to death of bishops, priests and many believers, either in concentration camps or by direct execution, continues to function. The attempt to conceal by throwing a 'veil' over the fact of religious persecution is no new one: the real change consists in the fact, perhaps, that Bolsheviks are realizing more and more the unabated power of religion and hate it accordingly. It seems as if events were pressing towards a spiritual issue and this makes the present moment a significant one from the religious point of view.

Lord Lothian on the Need of a True Religion

Not only in Russia, but after the Great War, the total failure of Christianity to satisfy the moral and spiritual needs of a vastly changed Europe, set men's minds against all religion but with the western people religion and Christianity were synonymous terms. Europe, therefore, despaired of all religion and a wave of materialism swept over it. But leaders who are used to see under the surface of things have fully realized the great moral havoc that this wave of materialism has wrought. They realize that man cannot live without religion. The following excerpt taken from Lord Lothian's Convocation Address at the Aligarh University is an instance of this realization. We fully agree with Lord Lothian that

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a religion which cannot solve the problems that have embittered human life is fit to be thrown on the dung heap. We assure him that Islam does provide a full and complete solution of all such problems and he will find it such a religion if he only studies it with an open mind. Lord Lothian says:

> Modern science in the West has had two main results. On the one hand it has enormously extended the control of man over nature and the forces latent in nature. On the other hand it has undermined the authority of traditional organized religion in the minds of the university-educated world. Half the evils of the modern world come from these facts. Civilized man has been fascinated by the new powers that science has put in his hands. But he has made no equivalent advance on the moral side so as to ensure that these new powers shall be used for the benefit rather than for the destruction of mankind. While the scientific spirit has gradually destroyed the older superstitions and extended the scope of knowledge, and so set men and women free from many of the limitations and slaveries by which they were bound, it has left them with a bitter need, it is true, for spiritual and religious truth but without any scientific understanding of it. Most Western people, like children, have become so preoccupied with speed and news and the pleasures of the five senses that they have not only lost the capacity for the simple life but have also lost any practical touch with the infinite, with the eternal, with all that religion purports to disclose. This decline in the authority of religion, the indispensable guide of man, the one source which can give moral purpose and nobility and meaning to the life of man, explains, at least in part, why the Western world has given its allegiance in recent decades to new political gospels based on race or class or has pinned its faith on a form of science which admittedly is almost wholly concerned with advance on the meterial plane, with making life more complicated, and not less expensive and complicated. And it explains also in part, why Europe finds it so difficult to attain to that unity in spirit and life which would enable it to rise above the spirit of exclusive nationalism which is its principal bane to-day.

Conception of Civic Liberty in Different Countries

AUSTRIA :—Police have the right to send politically suspected persons to certain places of detention without trial

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for an unlimited period, and all intercourse with the outside world is controlled by the authorities.

BULGARIA :—In political cases prisoners are sometimes arrested and held by the police for several weeks without trial. Other suspects are interned without trial in remote villages.

IRISH FREE STATE :—Under the Public Safety Act it is an offence in political cases to refuse to answer questions put by the police.

GREAT BRITAIN :—A confession is not admissible in evidence if induced by threats or promises. Cases are, however, known where the police have held out the hope of a lighter sentence as an inducement to plead guilty, and complaints are sometimes made of excessively long questioning before a suspected person is charged.

GERMANY :—Laws apply only to cases tried before the ordinary criminal courts. In cases where the State Police or Secret State Police take action against politically suspected persons without bringing them before the public prosecutor and the court, their action is completely free from judicial control and in every way legally unfettered. The Secret Police can keep a person in a concentration camp for an indefinite period.

NORTHERN IRELAND :—By orders under Special Powers Acts, refusal to answer police or examining magistrate or other officer is a criminal offence even if answer may tend to incriminate the accused; answers to police or magistrates may be used as evidence of offence. Persons may be detained indefinitely.

HUNGARY :—Sometimes the third degree is used, especially in the case of political prisoners.

ITALY :—Independently of any judical procedure a special non-judicial committee presided over by the prefect has the right to send a person to a place of detention for one to five years if he has acted (or has shown intention to act) against the authority of the State so as to damage national interests.

POLAND :—Persons who, in the view of an administrative authority, may possibly endanger the State or the Government can be detained in concentration camps for a period of three months, which can be extended indefinitely, without any judicial control.

SOVIET RUSSIA :—The law is scrupulously carried out according to the code in all non-political charges. In all

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political or quasi-political cases the political police are at liberty to arrset any Russian citizen without a warrant or without indicating the charge; the arrested person may be held indefinitely without trial, and may be tried, condemned, and punished in secret.

Torture, is 'usually spoken of as a stain upon the honour of past ages, from which our own is free. Yet no one who examines the evidence can doubt that the use of torture is more widespread to-day than it was half a century ago. The evil is not extinct but is growing.'

—*The Living Age.*

A Few Facts about Palestine

There are 7,120,000 dunams of tillable land in Palestine. Of this the Jews now own 940,000 dunams, or 13 per cent. To-day 153,000 dunams of citrus fruit acreage are owned by the Jews and 147,000 dunams by the Arabs. It is conservatively estimated that the present citrus plantings can produce as high as twenty-five million cases of fruit. This is on the basis of a report submitted by the Director of Agriculture in Palestine. By way of comparison it should be observed that in 1935 seven million or more cases of citrus fruit were actually exported from Palestine.

The World's Jewish Population

Dr. Erwin Rawicz, noted Jewish statistician, has calculated that the Jewish population of the world amounts at present to 16,300,000. Approximately 7,500,000 live in Eastern Europe including Poland, Rumania and the Baltic States. There are 4,500,000 Jews in the United States. The figure for the countries around the Mediterranean Sea is 1,333,000.

An Appreciation

A friend from Holland gives his opinion about *Ahmadiyyat or the True Islam* as follows :—

> "The book is highly interesting and though the book is rather stout I like to carry it with me daily if possible."

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